

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 ANKARA 04042 241550Z

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

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O 241445Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4284

S E C R E T ANKARA 4042

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MASS, TU

SUBJ: ELECTRONIC WARFARE DISCUSSIONS

PASS SECDEF WASHDC: EUCOM: DIRNSA

REF: ANKARA 4027

SUMMARY. MINISTER FOREIGN AFFAIRS GUNES CALLED CHARGE IN  
IN MAY 24 FOR TWO-HOUR DISQUISITION ON TURKISH VIEWS E-W PROBLEM  
AND TO PRESS FOR REVISION OF PROPOSED TEXT EXCHANGE OF LETTERS  
AGREEMENT. HIS REVISIONS TRANSMITTED REFTEL.  
CHARGE STRONGLY STRESSED NEW PROBLEMS OF BOTH  
SUBSTANCE AND TIMING CAUSED BY THIS MOVE BUT FONMIN WAS  
ADAMANT ON GROUNDS THAT MATTER HAD BEEN THOROUGHLY DISCUSSED  
IN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND PRIME MINISTER PLACED GREAT  
IMPORTANCE ON REVISED FINAL PARAGRAPH. END SUMMARY.

1 GUENS BEGAN WITH STATEMENT THAT IN ALL CIRCUMSTANCES TURKEY'S  
MILITARY DEFENSE DID AND WOULD REST ON COOPERATION WITH THE US.  
AT MOMENT HE EXPECTED THAT COOPERATION WOULD HAVE TO CONTINUE  
"TO ETERNITY" AS FAR AS TURKEY CONCERNED. THE 1963 E-W  
AGREEMENT HAD REFLECTED THAT SITUATION AND THE PRESENT ONE SHOULD  
DO SO TOO.

2. HE WAS GRATIFIED THAT MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH COUNTRIES  
HAD DEVELOPED A PACKAGE OF E-W ASSISTANCE IN THIS SPIRIT OF COOPERA-  
TION AND HE FELT PACKAGE WAS SUFFICIENT TO ABSOLVE US OF ITS COMMIT-  
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SECRET

PAGE 02 ANKARA 04042 241550Z

MENT UNDER ARTICLE IIII OF 1962 UNDERSTANDING. HE WISHED TO EXPRESS

HIS APPRECIATION FOR THIS TO THE US MISSION IN ANKARA, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, AND THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, ESPECIALLY SINCE HE KNEW HOW SCARCE RESOURCES NOW WERE IN WASHINGTON.

3. HIS HAPPINESS, HOWEVER, WAS OVERBALANCED BY PROBLEMS WITH WAY NEGOTIATIONS WERE BEING CARRIED OUT AND BY IDEAS INHERENT IN PROPOSED TEXT. FIRST, TURKISH GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN PUT UNDER HEAVIEST PRESSURE PAST WEEK OR SO. WHILE HE WAS DEFENDING TURKEY'S NATO AND US-ALLIED SECURITY POLICY ON THE FLOOR OF THE PARLIAMENT, A MESSAGE HAD BEEN BROUGHT TO HIM THAT THE E-W AGREEMENT HAD TO BE SIGNED THAT NIGHT. US HAS CONSTANTLY INSISTED ON EXTREME LEGALISTIC APPROACH TO PROBLEM. IT SEEMED NOT TO BE SATISFIED WITH MUTUAL AGREEMENT THAT ANY AND ALL US COMMITMENTS HAD BEEN MET. IT WANTS TO EXCLUDE TURKEY' BEING ABLE TO APPROACH IT EVEN IN THE FUTURE IN THE E-W FIELD, REGARDLESS OF THE OCCASION OR NEED, EXCEPT IN THE CONTEXT OF REGULAR PROGRAMS. SOME OF HIS MINISTERIAL COLLEAGUES WONDERED IF THE US INTENTION WAS NOT BASICALLY POLITICAL, I.E., "DID THE US WISH TO AVAIL ITSELF OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO PUT ON RECORD FORMALLY AND FINALLY THAT IT IS ABSOLVING ITSELF OF ANY AND ALL OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE AGREEMENT?"

4. HE HAD SAID IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THESE WERE US INTENTIONS. HE WOULD BE HAPPY IF HE COULD RECEIVE ASSURANCES TO THAT EFFECT FROM THE CHARGE NOW. HE MUST FULLY DISPEL THE DOUBTS OF HIS COLLEAGUES AND THE DOUBTS AND SENSITIVITY OF THE TURKISH MILITARY; THE LATTER ARE NOT TO BE TAKEN LIGHTLY AND HE HOPED WASHINGTON KNEW THAT. TO THIS END HE WAS PROPOSING A REVISED LETTER WHICH HE WISHED TO BE TRANSMITTED IMMEDIATELY TO WASHINGTON, TOGETHER WITH HIS VIEWS AS SUMMARIZED ABOVE.

5. CHARGE THANKED GUNES FOR CAREFUL AND DETAILED PRESENTATION AND SHARED HIS VIEWS ON THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF TURKISH-US COOPERATION IN THE SECURITY FIELD. HE SKETCHED IN ORIGINS OF DISCUSSIONS, AID OF WHICH WAS TO REMOVE, NOT CREATE, A SOURCE OF FRICTION, AND WELCOMED FONMINS'S ASSERTION THAT THE PROPOSED E-W PACKAGE MET ANY AND ALL OF US OBLIGATION TO SUPPLY E-W GEAR UNDER ART. III OF THE 1962 UNDERSTANDING. HE FELT CONFIDENT IN ASSURING THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT THERE WAS NO POLITICAL MEANING IN METHOD OF US APPROACH AND THAT US DID NOT WISH EITHER TO CUT ITS TIES WITH TURKEY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ANKARA 04042 241550Z

IN THE SECURITY FIELD, OR NEVER AGAIN TO HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH TURKEY IN REGARD TO E-2W.

6. OUR PROBLEMS, CHARGE STRESSED, WERE FINANCIAL AND LEGAL. DESPITE OUR BEST EFFORTS WE APPARENTLY HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO CONVINCE GOT THAT WE WOULD REALLY LOSE THE MONEY FOR THE PACKAGE UNLESS WE REACHED AGREEMENT AT ONCE. HE WOULD SAY-- AGAIN WITH CONFIDENCE--THAT THIS IN FACT WAS THE CASE. FURTHER,

HAVING GONE TO SUCH EXTRAORDINARY LENGTHS TO GET THIS VERY SUBSTANTIAL ONE-SHOT FUNDING (SECRETARY SCHLESINGER HAD PERSONALLY EXERTED GREATEST EFFORTS). WE HAD TO BE SURE WE WOULD NOT BE FACED WITH A SIMILAR PROBLEM IN THE FUTURE.

THUS, CHARGE WAS DEEPLY DISTURBED BY OMISSION IN THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S PROPOSED TEXT OF PHRASE "WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF EXISTING US PROGRAM FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE OR SUCCESSOR PROGRAMS." IN GENERAL, HE WAS CONCERNED THAT THE PASSAGE OF MORE TIME WOULD FURTHER THREATEN ALREADY ENDANGERED FUNDS.

7. MUSTAFA ASULA (ASSISTANT DIRECTOR GENERAL, ISA, MFA), WHO SITTING IN ON MEETING, BROKE IN WITH STRONG ARGUMENT IN TURKISH AGAINST INCLUDING FINAL PHRASE. GUNES HEARD HIM OUT FOR AWHILE AND THEN CUT HIM OFF, SAYING TO CHARGE, "HIS ELOQUENCE DOES NOT MATTER BECAUSE IT IS THE PRIME MINISTER HIMSELF WHO WANTS THE LAST PARAGRAPH THE WAY WE ARE SUGGESTING." HE ADDED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER FELT IT NECESSARY THAT THE LAST TWO PARAGRAPHS OF THE LETTER BALANCE EACH OTHER BETTER: THE PENULTIMATE SHOULD ACQUIT THE US OF ITS OBLIGATIONS; THE ULTIMATE SHOULD RESTATE US-TURKISH COOPERATION AND NOT CURTAIL THE TURKS' "RIGHT TO ASK" AN ALLY FOR ANYTHING THAT MIGHT ONE DAY BE NEEDED, POSSIBLE, OR APPROPRIATE. GUNES THEN AGAIN REQUESTED THAT THE PROPOSED LETTER BE FORWARDED TO WASHINGTON AS IT STOOD AND CHARGE UNDERTOOK TO DO SO.

8. COMMENT: IN SUBSTANCE, TEXT PROPOSED BY GUNES APPEARS LITTLE DIFFERENT FROM TEXT WORKED OUT BY BOEHM AND YAVUZALP ON MAY 21 (ANKARA 3925) EXCEPT FOR INSERTION OF REFERENCE TO ARTICLE 3 OF MOU. AS WE READ MOU, COMPLETE TERMINATION OF US E-W COMMITMENT WOULD REQUIRE INCLUSION OF ARTICLE 4, APPENDIX A, AND POSSIBLY  
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PAGE 04 ANKARA 04042 241550Z

APPENDIX B.

THE ADDITION OF PREFATORY MATERIAL IN FINAL PARAGRAPH REFLECTS TURKISH VIEWS ALONG THE LINES SET FORTH ABOVE BY GUNES AND SEEMS PRIMARILY TO RESTATE PRINCIPLE CONTAINED IN ARTICLE 8 OF MOU.

THUS, ALTHOUGH TEXT IS LESS CLEAR THAN WE WOULD HAVE LIKED ON SOURCE OF FURTHER FUNDING OF POSSIBLE E-W ASSISTANCE, TAKEN AS A WHOLE (ASSUMING INCLUSION OF ADDITIONAL REFERENCES TO MOU ARTICLES AND APPENDICES AS DISCUSSED ABOVE OR DELETION OF ARTICLE 3), IT TERMINATES ANY CONCRETE COMMITMENTS AND OBLIGES US ONLY TO CONSIDER FUTURE ASSISTANCE. THIS, TOGETHER WITH PERSONAL ENTRY INTO PICTURE OF PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER, WITH WHOM FURTHER

NEGOTIATIONS OVER ALTERNATIVE WORKDING WILL BE AT BEST VERY  
TIME-CONSUMING AND DIFFICULT, LEADS US STRONGLY TO RECOMMEND  
ACCEPTANCE WITH DELETION OF REFERENCE TO ARTICLE 3 OR  
INSERTION OF ADDITIONAL REFERENCES TO MOU. (WE THINK WE  
MIGHT BE ABLE CARRY OFF THIS ONE CHANGE WHICH IN ACCORD  
WITH FOREIGN MINISTER'S PHILOSOPHY AS EXPRESSED ABOVE.)

WE WILL BE GRATEFUL IF DEPARTMENT WILL REVIEW ENTIRE  
TEXT CAREFULLY TO MAKE SURE NO OTHER "JOKERS" HAVE BEEN  
INTRODUCED INTO NEW VERSION WHICH WE MAY HAVE MISSED IN  
INITIAL READING AND IF WASHINGTON WILL GIVE US ITS VIEWS  
ON NEXT STEP ASAP.  
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